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A scalp dance is also common in this area. Details are lacking, but we can note the distribution of at least one feature. Kroeber observes that in California (e.g., Maidu, Wintun, and a Mission group), it is usual to hang the scalp on a pole about which the dancers move. This is also the case in the Southwest (Havasupai, Navaho,[1] Zuñi, Papago, Opata), in the Basin (Paiute, according to the Havasupai; Uintah, and Lemhi Shoshoni), and in the Plains at least among Pawnee and Omaha.[2] On the other hand, in the northern Plains the scalp is hung from a stick in the hands of the dancers (Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Cheyenne,[3] and to the northwest the Klamath and Wishram), which appears in the Southwest only as one of the Navaho practices. Both usages have a wide distribution.

[1] Gearing, 320; Pettie, 164.
[2] Pettie, 44; Fletcher and La Flesche, 422.
[3] Winter, (b), 433; Lowie, (c), 226; Grinnell, (c), 208-210.

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DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdga*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. [527] [535] [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. [648] The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Mamakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. [527] [571] [621] [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

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Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground. Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his eyes. Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*dĭ̄kădjĭ'kĭgd*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed. The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least knew the dance songs as well as the men.

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gĭdjĭ'nd*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hówig*", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panaxiela, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; later food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakinja, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*gueelikómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gueelikómidi'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Inyámátvi	má'évahag'i'i	ddyiiniyódjik
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

áhánigwayóhag'i'i	ma'évahag'i'i
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kahd'i* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamids at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:-[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Sufi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the California ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1] The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a Paiute shaman, named Panámántá (Panamint?), living near St. George, Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

A performance of masked dancers (*gidji'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 920, 921.
[2] *Ibid*, 811, 812.
[3] James, (b), 258.

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and to make crops grow. Six, ten, or more men prepare within a house. 595
The leader, stationed before the door, demands "Are you ready?", whereupon they proceed to the dance ground following the leader in single file. Each second man steps to the left of his predecessor in line, forming a file of twos. The leader and his partner face about and dance twice between the files and back, then to the bottom of the files where they take up positions (much like a Virginia reel). The next couple, now at the head of the files, repeats this performance, taking stations below the first couple, and so on, as long as desired. They return to the house in couple formation, singing the while, but stopping before they enter.

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The mask is a sack with eagle feathers tipped with eagle down fastened to the upper edge. Eye and mouth holes are cut; the nose is painted on the mask. A leather tube, 10 cm. long, is sewed into the mouth hole; its outer end is deeply notched, so that it resembles a bird's bill. Designs are painted on the masks to "look pretty or to make people laugh" (Fig. 52). Some masks have chicken hawk or owl feathers tied to the upper corners and vertical wavy lines in red and black painted on the face (Fig. 52b). Another has a single eagle plume tipped with eagle down, with the painted design shown in Fig. 52c. Another is covered with down to simulate hair. The body of the dancer is painted white. Horsehair (never one's own hair) is arranged to fall to the middle of the back below these masks; horizontal bands are marked with white paint across the hair. Green branches of cottonwood or willow are carried in each hand. These are shaken as they dance.

Fig. 52. A Masked Dancer and Masks. After a native drawing.

Mohave Dance

The Mohave dance, which is said to have been borrowed from a 177
Walapai mourning ceremony, has not been fully adopted by the Hava- 535
supai. The older people object to it because of the sentiment of the

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177 535 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, [533] the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

177 535 765 [648] The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

177 535 [533] In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was Kâθâdà, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they did not join hands.

[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 99.

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai. 177 535 648 [756]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgatá'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 796 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise steps) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Cosumte,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1890 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 170.
[6] Lowie, (i), 305.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 40.

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171 535 Uintah Ute, to the Wind River,[1] Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni,[2] Crow,[3] and probably the Yakima, but not the Wishram. The Crow Owl dance differs in that the performers have their arms about each others' waists; the Uintah Squaw dance in that men and women are not interspersed and the step is different. The Pima also have a dance which may be related.[4] In this the dancers stand in a circle with arms across their neighbors' shoulders, stamping their feet and bending their bodies.

Several of the details have parallels among other tribes. The central pole is recorded from the Kaibab, in the Wind River *Naroya* dance, and in the Ghost dances[5] among the Karok, Klamath, and the Plains tribes. Its use in the Ghost dance when men climbed to the feathers tied at the top suggests the *Notish* mourning ceremony of the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, where rivalry is shown in climbing a painted pole to which crow feathers and baskets are attached.[6] But there is a more suggestive relation in the tale of the Gabrielino which describes a visit to the land of the dead by a man who in a test is made to climb a tall pole to bring down a feather tied to the top.[7] At Taos clowns climb a pole for food, but I do not know that there is here any association with the dead.[8] The very characteristic way in which the dancers stand singing softly, then circle about to stand again, between songs, has been noted for the Gosiute by Reagan, the Kaibab, the Walapai, and in the Ghost dance by Mooney.[9] Lowie has also observed the curious reluctance of the Lemhi dancers to begin, and the whipping of Crow Owl dancers and those of the Moapa and Southern Ute who are slow to join the Bear dance.[10] The dropping out of women partners from the circle between dances is the custom in the Lemhi *Nuakin* and the Gosiute round dance. They are paid by the men and sometimes reciprocate in the Cree dance of the Lemhi and presumably the Fort Hall Shoshoni, in the Wind River Women's dance,[11] and in the Navaho war dance.[12] The foxskin worn [301] pendent from the back of the shaman's belt in the 1918 dance has its analog in the costume of the masked dancers among the Pueblos, as at Zuñi, and among the Navaho.[13] It is not clear how frequently other

[1] Lowie, (f), 822, 817, 820.
[2] Lowie, (a), 217–222.
[3] Lowie, (d), 208.
[4] Russell, (d), 170, 288.
[5] Mooney, (b), 650, 921; Powers, 42
[6] Du Bois, (c), 102, 148.
[7] Reid, 24. (Reid's account, published in 1852, is earlier than the period at which the ghost dance reached the Havasupai).
[8] Lockhard, (a), 2nd ed., 105.
[9] Mooney, (b), 920; Dellenbaugh, 172; *Ghost Dance in Arizona*, 88.
[10] Lowie, (i), 301; (f), 828.
[11] Lowie, (f), 822.
[12] Parsons, (b), 467; Franciscan Fathers, 270.
[13] Tozzer, (a), 150; Franciscan Fathers, 277.

[Text continues on p. 272]

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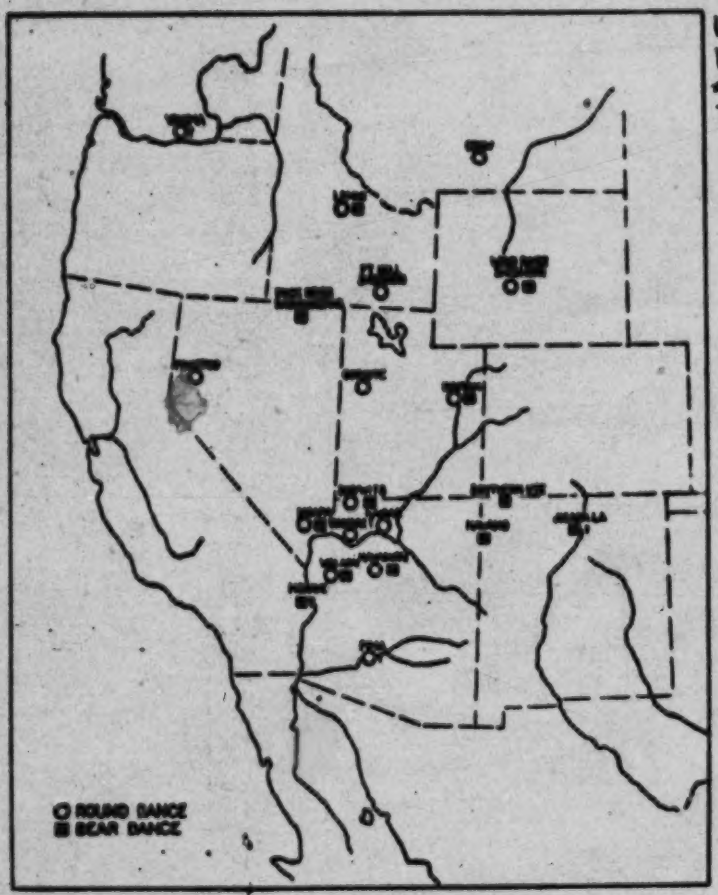

Fig. 53. Distribution of the Round and Bear or Mohave Dances.

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tribes use a notched rasp or other substitute for the drum, but it is specified that no drum is used by the Gosiute and Uintah Ute. Nor is it used by the Lemhi in the *Nuakin* and the Wind River Shoshoni in the *Naroya*, although it is used by them in very similar dances, and no drum is mentioned in connection with the Moapa and Shivwits accounts.

It is not clear how frequently other

Masked performers are characteristic of Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho ceremonials, and perhaps of other Southwestern tribes, as they are to the south in Mexico. Without a complete knowledge of these, comparisons with the Havasupai dancers cannot be attempted. I note, however, that sack-like masks are used by the Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, and Navaho.[1] Masks probably do not occur to the north and west although there is something of the sort among the Pomo and their neighbors. The Pueblo dancers also carry branches in their hands.

The Mohave dance is the Bear dance of the Basin tribes. This is known, at least by another name, to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute,[2] Southern Ute, Uintah Ute, Wind River[3] and Lemhi Shoshoni, the Paviotso-Shoshoni of the Duck River Reservation,[4] and, according to Southern Ute information, to the Navaho and (Jicarilla?) Apache. My information adds the Havasupai, Walapai, and, by inference, the Mohave. There is even some suggestion of it in the Yuma mourning ceremony.[5]

The dancers are always of both sexes, but not always segregated in two lines that face each other. The Moapa, for example, form couples or trios facing or dancing abreast; in the Wind River Bear dance, at least, trios always face their partners; Lemhi men and women form only one line. Uintah performers sometimes dance as couples, as well as in line formation. The step is always the same; the lines trot to and fro, save that the Northern Ute advance toward each other. Partners are chosen by the women in most cases (Southern Ute, Northern Ute, Wind River Bear dance), but either sex may choose among the Lemhi, in the Wind River *narupinaru*, and sometimes among the Moapa. The Havasupai do not dance as partners, so far as I know.

The principal departure of the Havasupai dance from the others is in the musical accompaniment. All the others use the notched rasp. In fact, the Havasupai use of the rattle, stationing the leader who bears it in the middle of the line, ending the song with the ejaculation ha' ha'

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[1] Franciscan Fathers, 283, 285; the Mohave have no masks [Kroeber, (a), 782]. The Pima and the Yaqui of Sonora make use of wooden ones [Russell, (d), 107]; *Ghost dance in Arizona*, 67.
[2] Lowie, (f), 292–291.
[3] Lowie, (f), 823–831.
[4] Lowie, (a), 219.
[5] "... Opposite lines of Indians, who in the day-time march to and fro over the open ground. One group is provided with grotesque clay images .... Bead upon poles and carried high in the air by young bucks. An old squaw walking backwards cast handfuls of corn upon the images .." (Trippel, 6).

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ha', and continuing with rapid rattling after the end of the song, are all clearly taken over from the Pueblos.[1]

A few further points will bring out the nature of this dance complex, though they do not pertain particularly to the Havasupai. The time at which the dance is held is much the same: Lemhi, spring; Northern Ute, February or March; Southern Ute, very early spring; Wind River Shoshoni, to bring warm weather. Lowie observed the Moapa dance in August, however.

A refusal to dance nets a whipping among the Southern Ute and Moapa. It is more serious for the Duck River man, who will be overtaken by death, and the Lemhi, who will be killed by a bear. In the Klamath Ghost dance, one who failed to dance would be turned to stone. The Moapa, Uintah, and Wind River dances terminate when someone falls exhausted; the Uintah believe that the bear will help such a one in sickness and the Wind River, that the dancer must imitate the bear lest he be killed by him.

The Uintah and Southern Ute erect a circular brush enclosure for the dance; the Wind River, Shoshoni, Moapa, Havasupai, and Walapai do not.

There is some suggestion of the history of this dance. The Ute are credited as the source of their dance by the Duck River people and by some Wind River Shoshoni. The Shivwits state that it has been recently introduced from the Uintah Ute, the Moapa receiving it in turn about 1910–12. The dance among the several Ute divisions is, to be sure, the most serious affair. The Shivwits have also recently added this dance to their mourning ceremony,[2] similar to the Walapai and perhaps the Mohave and Yuma practice. But the mourning ceremony came from California, reaching the Moapa perhaps fifty or sixty years ago and the Shivwits much later. Are we to assume that the Mohave did not have this dance, or at least include it in the mourning ceremony, until that time? The association of the two corresponds to the change noted by Powers as having occurred in 1860–70 among the Miwok, who introduced or substituted dancing and dirges for the annual cry. His brief description suggests the Bear dance: "others, with arms locked, pace to and fro in a beaten path."[3] The suggestion is that the mourning ceremony was spreading eastward and northward from the Mohave; the Bear dance westward and southward from the Ute. So far as the Walapai are con-

[1] Du Bois notes a similar expression closing a circling dance of the Northern Diegueño. The dance is said by the Luiseño to have been introduced among the Indians of the interior as part of the Chungichnish rites (b), 137.

[2] Lowie, (i), 279. The Moapa use the round dance in this connection.

[3] Powers, 355, 356.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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171 535 cerned they may have obtained the dance from the Mohave at a much later date than the mourning practices.

171 276 The trifling use to which the Havasupai put jimpson weed hardly suggests its place among the southern Californian tribes. It is essential to the initiation ceremonies of the Yokuts, Salinan, Kawaiisu, Luiseño, Dieguеño, Juaneño (or Gabrielino), Cupeño, and Cahuilla.[1] But it is not confined to use in the toloache cult even in southern California: the Mohave and Chumash know it and the Yokuts and Cahuilla use it for curing broken bones. This suggests the Zuñi who apply it externally to wounds.[2] They also use it as a narcotic, to commune with the dead, and to obtain visions of thieves. The Navaho also evidently use it for detection.[3] Walapai shamans prophesy while under its influence and the same applies to the Aztec, who also used it ceremonially, if Safford's identification holds.[4] It is also known to the White Mountain Apache and Paiute, and is a source of power for the Tepecano.[5] Either of two possibilities is open; that the Southwestern use represents an attenuated form of the Californian initiation ceremonies, or, as seems more likely, that it is part of a general use of the plant which was locally connected with the boy's initiation rites in southern California.

171 534 Some facts suggest that the double-headed drum of the Havasupai has a limited distribution. The Zuñi, Hopi, apparently Nambé, Pima, Maricopa, Huichol, and Wind River Shoshoni make similar double-headed drums of cottonwood logs. In the same area the Navaho use only a cooking pot with a skin stretched over its mouth or an inverted basket. At least the drum is not a Californian instrument.[6]

The looped drumstick is not universal. It is recorded as used by the Navaho, Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Shoshoni, Mandan, and Tlingit.[7]

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[1] Kroeber, (f), 8, note 17; (g), 85; (s), 314; Mason, J. A., (a), 183; Sparkman, 231; Spier, (e), 318–321; Nuwaxe, in Robinson; Clifford, (a), 196; Hooper, 343.
Stevenson, M. C., (b), 385–7.

[2] Parsons, (a).

[3] Bourke, (d), 183; (e), 455; Safford, 550, 553.

[4] Trilleha, (f), 23; Palmer, 330; Mason, J. A., (d), 143.

[5] Hough, (e), 278, 294; Goddard, (e), 2nd ed., 108; Brown; Russell, (d), 167, states that only an inverted basket is used; Lumholtz, (b), 319; Lewis, (a), 209; Franciscan Fathers, 299; Guernsey, 306; Matthews, (b); Spier, (e), 348.

[6] Franciscan Fathers, 299; Bourke, (e), 462; Stevenson, J., Fig. 551. A Zuñi specimen is in the Anthropological Museum, University of California, a Shoshoni one is in the Museum of the American Indian, and a Tlingit in the Washington State Museum; Densmore, 8, Plate 9.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

2:1liff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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551 576 775 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey to the underworld.

755 [535] The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal men and women of the camp to dance around him, in the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

857 868 492 [553] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

857 868 [535] Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[117] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

194 The grammatic structure of their language, though inferior to that of the Zuñis, is nevertheless quite regular. Intonation, as with the Chinese, repetition, as with the natives of Australia, are employed to vary the shades of meaning in words. Most of the consonants not occurring in other Indian tongues are common in the Ha-va-su-paí, which is strikingly soft and rapid. Just as the music of the Zuñis has caught the spirit of the desert winds, so have both the music and the language of the Ha-va-su-paí been infused with the sounds of the rushing waters by which they are surrounded. As I listened to the weird song of a doctor, one night, it seemed more like the echoes of water in a cavern, or in resounding nooks of the deep cañon, than like the music of a human being.

It is, indeed, an interesting question how far man's environments, climatic, physical, even biologic, have influenced the sound of his music and language. Possibly of the same family of Indians as the Zuñis, there are, nevertheless, elements of sound in the music and words of the Ha-va-su-paí unpronounceable by the Zuñi, never heard in his music. On the other hand, the music of the Hua-la-pai, on the plains to the westward, the undoubted fathers of the Ha-va-su-paí, is as strangely different from that of the latter as is the Zuñi itself, and as strangely in keeping with the wild, dry, forest-clad hills and valleys of his native land.

531 Possessing nothing but a rude architecture, their art is correspondingly crude, being mostly confined to the patterns on their basket-work and the paintings on their bows and arrows. [285] The basket-work, by virtue of the regular arrangement of the splints, is often beautiful. But few people live, however, whose appreciation of art seems so great, compared with their limited practice of it.

● 535 They are mimics, but their dances —

[P. 556B]

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâkâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy
674 the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the
[855 861] latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

They are not so fair-dealing toward
648 the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange
721 frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. "But," he added, "the time has come
648 when I see this is wrong, and my peo-
177 ple will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving [178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more [535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were [177] held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones [766] was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial [178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
[114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai
[535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764
[165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

765 while others gathered in a huddle around them. All wept and wailed aloud,
152 "a-a-a-a-oh-oh-oy-oy-oy-oy-oy." Not everyone repeated this precisely, and individual variation occurred in forming the sounds, pitch, and repetition.

Some people stood around for several minutes before joining the mourners, although gradually most of them joined the group, placing their right hands on a mourner's left shoulder as they wailed.

This initial wailing and emotional display lasted for 10 or 15 minutes.
[537] Then Mark Hanna made a speech to the relatives, advising them to grieve now, and then to forget the dead and turn their thoughts to the living. Women stood with heads bowed and shoulders drooped. During the speech they occasionally broke out in low wailing almost like a song, but softly, so they could still hear what was being said. Men, too, stood with bowed heads and hats pulled down so that the brims hid their faces. Certain individuals displayed more emotion than others. One boy's shoulders shook as he was wracked with sobbing, while others merely made the appropriate sounds. Clark Jack wailed in a rather high, thin voice, while others, notably Louis Sinyella, had full voices that produced musical sounds even in the wail.

537 After Mark's speech, Clark spoke, extolling the virtues of his father
765 and his love for him. He recounted his feelings when the hospital tests in-
152 dicated that his father would not live long.

Both speeches, especially Clark's, were delivered in quavering tones, the men being overcome by emotion so that some words broke or came out in a "squeak." Tears ran down their faces. Clark's speech was an emotional experience such as most people would deliver if they tried to speak at the funeral of a beloved parent. It was a dignified and genuine display of a man's feelings in a ritual, culturally determined, and approved pattern.

765 While this last talk was being delivered, Teddy and some others, boys and men, set three posts in the ground and nailed boards from the top of one to the other, and from it to the corner of a small storeroom. On these they spread out the clothing donated for Mexican Jack. On the center post they hung a pair of new chaps. Then chairs were brought from the church [an Episcopal mission] and placed in two rows facing each other in front of Clark's house.

765 Mark and Arthur took places on the opposite side of the fire facing
●535 east between the two rows of dancers. The male dancers faced south. Those with rattles, Lemuel, Louis, and Teddy, took their places, and were joined by Dan and Floyd. These all kept their same places throughout the night. Toward morning James, with his rattle, sat next to Teddy on the east end

[text continues on p. 22]

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 12 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
533 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices
[537] could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hánaga, Hánaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs. 765 [533] [535]

On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.] [171]

Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightl forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck. 765 535

About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

At 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief. All night many had kept asking, "Nya gal we?," ("What is the time?"). 765

About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion. [539]

765 Around 5:00 o'clock, when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

765 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame
● 535 and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The
765 last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the
152 boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

965 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

[291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

[775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gătágăma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

the same might happen to them later on. 533 539 177 796

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the *songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked* him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 32 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Gătágăma's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Gătágăma also was singing his own songs."

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Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue.

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 251): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 535 727

535 head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it."
727 The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other
[533] round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to
727 be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.
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> "One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies [who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man [for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this [north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy [who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued
[177] 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

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informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear. [114]

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The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

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Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

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At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

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Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

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Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai.

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similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ŏ?wi?gath?ɣwä (rock split apart) and ŏ?ih?ga'č? ɣwäv? (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnography is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.